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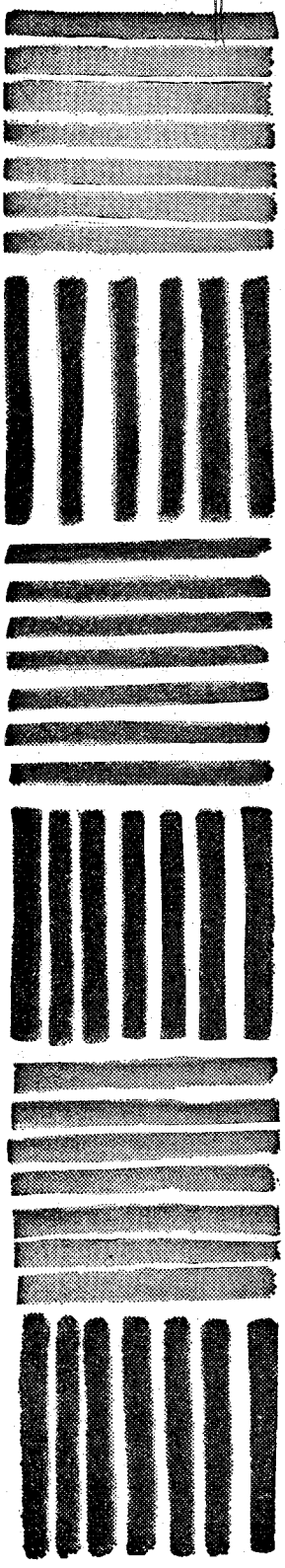

Prosperity Through Equality

Loren Miller

Exodus from Britain

NO ROOM AT THE TOP

Carey McWilliams

CHINA: NEW ALTERNATIVES

C. P. Fitzgerald

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LETTERS

China's proposal

Penrhyndeudraeth, Wales

Dear Sirs: Those who wish for peace in the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact must be glad of the test-ban treaty as a first step towards the ending of the cold war, and must hope that it will be followed by such further measures of conciliation as have been suggested on either side. Unfortunately, though not surprisingly, this is not the view of the treaty which is taken in China. . . . But it can hardly be hoped that the mood of China will change while China continues to be treated as a pariah. . . .

The Chinese Government, as announced in *The Peking Review* of August 2, has made certain proposals to the effect that all countries of the world should renounce nuclear weapons "completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely"; and that, in order to carry out this renunciation, they should "step by step" dismantle all bases on foreign soil, establish nuclear-free zones effectively covering the whole world, and agree to these measures at a conference of the heads of governments of all the countries of the world. This proposal should be treated seriously and not dismissed as Utopian.

It will be a profound tragedy if the ending of the cold war between Russia and the West, if achieved, is nothing but the prelude to another cold war, which may be just as dangerous and have an outcome just as disastrous as was to be feared by the continuance of the present one.

Bertrand Russell

Wrong reason

London

Dear Sirs: The article by Stephanie Gervis in your August 24 issue on the French anti-bomb movement is quite informative, but contains several inaccuracies. "Paul Kleijel-Valrymont" is certainly *Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont;* also, *Voie Communiste,* described as "the newspaper of the moderately pro-Chinese minority within the French Communist Party" is the organ of a group which left the party in 1956.

These are minor errors. The final inaccuracy goes well beyond a minor error and becomes a political slander. Miss Gervis writes that Claude Bourdet "resigned as co-editor of the Left Socialist weekly *France-Observateur* . . . [because] . . . its other editor, Gilles Martinet, who also belongs to the PSU, had taken the line that if other nations have the bomb, why shouldn't France?"

The reason for the break between Bourdet and Martinet was that Martinet believes that the planned, organized capitalism that France has under the de Gaulle government is a development over what it had had before. Neither Martinet nor *France-Observateur* has supported de Gaulle's bomb. On the contrary, both have opposed it. . . .

Owen Cahill

Happy ending

New York City

Dear Sirs: With considerable pleasure, I would like to inform you that I have recently received a wire from my wife in the Philippines telling me that the Philippine President has approved her application for a passport. We are now in a position to be reunited.

I wish to express my gratitude to *The Nation* for printing my letter of appeal [July 13], and to its readers who responded to it.

William J. Pomeroy

End of a teacher

Burlingame, Calif.

Dear Sirs: To continue your story for anyone who is interested in the sequel to "The Man Who Taught Too Well," by Donovan Bess [June 15]: On June 28, all parties assembled to find whether Gordon Lish should be reinstated as a high-school teacher or not. At 7:30 P.M. the hearing began. At 1:10 A.M. the case against Gordon Lish had been presented and he was free to present his defense. Unfortunately, by this time most of his witnesses, including students whose parents had taken them home, and other teachers who had come reluctantly to testify against their administrative bosses, had disappeared. . . . Further, most of the defense points he would like to have made were ruled irrelevant. (One of the charges against Lish was that he was late for classes; when, at the hearing, Dr. Walsh, school principal, was asked whether, on June 5, he had not arrived at 8:11 A.M. but had signed in for 8 A.M., he was told he did not have to answer. Only Mr. Lish's conduct was in question, it was pointed out.)

The result was a foregone conclusion. Gordon Lish's career as a high-school teacher has now ended.

Fran Fokes

London School grads

Dear Sirs: The Register of Students of the London School of Economics is being brought up-to-date. We are eager to obtain the latest addresses of all students who completed courses at the school during the years 1935-1952. We hope such students will send their present addresses (with their maiden names, if they are married women) to me care of the school, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.

J. Alcock, Registrar

THE NATION

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CORRECTION

In Harvey Swados' "Revolution on the March," Sept. 7 issue, Cleveland Robinson was described as "gigantic." Mr. Robinson may indeed be a giant, spiritually; physically, he is not. The adjective, mistranscribed by the printer, was "granitic."—*Editors.*

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Why the Brush-Off?

While Washington was running around in circles, General de Gaulle came up with a proposal for ending the war in Vietnam by reunification of North and South. The State Department dismissed the idea as "hypothetical." The timing, it was broadly implied, indicated that de Gaulle's motives were anti-American and malicious. Subsequently, in a rambling radio interview, President Kennedy remarked that "he [de Gaulle] doesn't have any forces there or any program of economic assistance, so while these expressions are welcome, the burden is carried, as it usually is, by the United States and the people there [in Vietnam]."

It is true that General de Gaulle has not poured $3 billion into a small country—with the result that it is now worse off than when the French were exploiting it. It is also true that the French do not have 15,000 men in South Vietnam, and that neither is French blood being spilled by the Vietnamese nor Vietnamese blood by the French. The French were beaten and, militarily, they got out. But in no other way. France still has a $250 million investment in South Vietnam, including almost all the huge rubber and tea and coffee plantations, and a share of the chemical, beer, glass, textile, cement and other industries. France is still South Vietnam's largest customer. French lay and religious schools have an enrollment of 30,000; about 30 per cent of the country's university graduates are French-trained, and more than 1,500 Vietnamese university students are in France today. De Gaulle is not precisely an interloper.

A good many South Vietnamese may regard *us* as the interlopers. The Indo-Chinese war ended ten years ago and the bitterness has died down. It is we who have sprayed the countryside with napalm and herbicides, shot peasants from helicopters on the chance that they might be Viet-Cong soldiers, helped herd the rural population into protected hamlets which bear an odd resemblance to concentration camps, and kept the Ngo family in power. When Kennedy speaks, the Vietnamese remember these incidents in the struggle to preserve Southeast Asia for the free world.

And what is this proposal of the General's? It is really nothing bizarre and sensational: he merely suggests an implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreement—a return to legality, in a word. Under the treaty which ended the war, the North and South halves of the country were to be united by free elections. Our protégé, Ngo Dinh Diem, and his precious family objected on the ground that no free election could be held in the North. That may be, but the Ngos saw to it that no free elections could be held in the South either. If Diem ran today for dog catcher of Saigon he could be elected only with the aid of his brother's strong-arm men, and if he went about his duties he would be assassinated.

General de Gaulle certainly has not offered a sure-fire remedy for the woes of Vietnam, but he has let some fresh air into the miasma which American policy has generated and in which we ourselves are stifling. It may be, in view of the situation in Laos, that a better solution would be a federation of North and South, the North to remain Communist, the South capitalist, with free intercourse between the two and no foreign interference, either from Red China or the United States. This is no easy solution, but it is far more realistic than anything American policy has come up with in Southeast Asia. "The French," says Walter Lippmann, "must know some things that we, who are newcomers and novices in the region, do not know." In the light of events, we know very little, we should be very humble, and we should not only welcome ideas, but ponder them hard.

Is the SST a Must?

"SST" stands for "supersonic transport," and President Kennedy says we must have it, just as we must land a man on the moon before the end of the decade. The moon race, however, seems to be on the decline, while the SST promotion is only getting under way. The production of a prototype will cost only about $1 billion so, compared with Project Apollo, with its $20-$40 billion price tag, SST is really hardly worth mentioning. Nevertheless, when the aerospace manufacturers were asked to contribute $250 million, or something at least, they demurred so vigorously that the President has appointed Eugene R. Black, formerly president of the World Bank, to expedite matters, and it is reported in the trade press that he is likely to do this by exacting only a token contribution from the aerospace and air transport industries. As usual, Uncle Sam will extract the funds from the taxpayers.

And what will they get? The first thing to note is that the majority of Americans are not flying and have never flown. They can't afford it at present rates. Flying is largely an expense-account mode of travel; according to one estimate, half of all business flying is done in connection, direct or indirect, with government business, the bulk of which, of course, is concerned with the arms and space race. What the American on the ground will get is sonic boom, the thunderous crash generated by an aircraft which noses down, even slightly, at a speed of 2,000 mph. It will rattle windows, and perhaps break them, twenty-five or thirty miles on either side of the flight path. Around airports the noise will be about as now — that is, highly objectionable. If it is not increased by the SST (which must take off and land subsonically), it will certainly not be decreased.

Americans who fly will not benefit materially either; the country is not large enough. An SST might be worth its cost in a flight from Moscow to Vladivostok, or from New York to Hawaii, but even

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that is doubtful since, by its nature, the SST is a gas hog and cannot fly long distances non-stop. What the traveler wants is a reduction in terminal delays — and safety. Given these, he can be perfectly content with a speed of 550 mph while he is airborne, and his chances of getting to his destination in one piece are reasonably good (although they could be improved). And the groundlings can sleep.

Society's Scapegoat

Ours is said to be a child-oriented society. True, a warfare state would not seem to be ideal for the nurture and education of children, and there is perhaps a fifty-fifty chance that children and parents alike will perish in a nuclear cataclysm, but that is something most people prefer not to think about. "Drive slow; we love our children," the roadside signs read, and we do love them. Schools and teachers are therefore objects of intense interest to the average family and, except by some elderly misanthropes, school taxes are paid with less griping than income and general real-estate taxes. Yet, despite the accepted principle that nothing is too good for the children, in the turn of events nothing is too bad for them either. The opening of the school year furnishes plenty of illustrations.

Certainly, mistreatment of teachers is not conducive to good education, but in the United States teachers as a class are neither respected nor accorded the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens. In New York City, blessed at this juncture with the best board of education and the best school superintendent it has had in many years, the system has been threatened by a general strike of teachers. The merits of the case do not concern us in the present context; what is of interest is the hypocrisy which pervades the controversy. The hearts of the teachers are full of solicitude for the children, but if all the needs of the children were met, and no salary increases were forthcoming, it is hardly likely that the teachers would assume their duties with a divine sense of mission.

The Governor of New York, the Mayor and the other high-level functionaries involved in the controversy go much farther in public-relations gimmickry. According to them, strikes by public servants menace society and cannot be tolerated. If you dare to strike, they say to the teachers, you will be dismissed, never to return. (In point of fact, they would be mildly punished in accordance with the Condon-Wadlin Law which, foresightedly, was emasculated precisely to prevent mandatory mass firings.) "There is no right anywhere to strike the schools," the New York *Herald Tribune* pontificates. Assuming that teachers have grievances—and they have them nation-wide, and not only in New York—what is to be their last resort? What but a strike? Teachers are workers like other workers, and for workers there is only one ultimate method of securing a redress of grievances—an orderly and concerted withdrawal of services.

Does this make martyrs of the children? That is an appeal to a form of sentiment which one would flatter by calling it maudlin. No school system was ever closed by a strike of teachers. Where school systems have been closed—as in Virginia, the Mother of Presidents—it has been by racists. School strikes are seldom as long as six-day bicycle races. If those who oppose them would think up some other way for teachers to register their protests, it would be a service not only to the teachers, but to labor generally. Perhaps, also, the children can learn as much from a march on Washington or a teachers' strike, as they learn in the classroom. They are going to live in a society in which such things can and do happen. If they learn enough about the causes, they may inquire, when they grow up, why $60 billion of federal money is spent annually on the arms race, and only a minute fraction of that on the schools. The sum is so huge that if the fraction were enlarged only a little there would be better schools, better teachers — and less hypocrisy.

An Ounce of Modicum

William C. Foster's U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has made one signal contribution to the disarmament dilemma: it financed the Benoit report (after Prof. Emile Benoit of Columbia University, chairman of the panel which made the study). Disarmament, this group concluded, need not bring on economic collapse — "if the government exercises a modicum of economic sense, foresight, and courageous leadership." How much modicum would be required is hardly susceptible to quantitative determination; however, since ours is a society in which governmental folly is supposedly balanced by corporate wisdom, it would seem that we must enlarge our view to include business policies which would make disarmament economically feasible, if by some act of God it should become politically possible.

Such a study has been initiated by Arthur W. Barber, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Arms Control) and is reported by Philip J. Klass in *Aviation Week* (August 12). Mr. Barber's chosen instrument is the Defense Industry Advisory Council (DIAC). Knowing that defense contractors wish to keep on serving their country and might be thrown into a panic at the prospect of having to make money in some other way, Mr. Barber was careful to assure the DIAC members (in Mr. Klass's words) that "there was no cause for alarm nor any implication that arms-control agreement would be reached in the near future." The defense contractors seem already to have reached that conclusion, for Mr. Barber discovered that they had not devoted much effort (in officialese, that could mean practically none) to study of the impact of arms control, if and when it might arrive. Surveying the twenty-five biggest defense contractors, *The New York Times* came to the same conclusion.

The contractors were, however, only too happy to talk to Mr. Barber about "business problems." One airplane company asked if, to help it diversify into non-defense areas, it could use the government-owned plant it now occupies. Since a surplus of government-

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owned airplane plants exists, Mr. Klass reports that "some Defense Department officials believe it might be possible to sell such facilities to present occupants *at a small fraction of their original cost* to facilitate diversification into non-military lines." (Italics added.) Other suggestions were along the same lines.

The subject being so unpleasant, defense industry would rather not think about arms reduction. If it must, it feels it is entitled to a helping hand at the taxpayers' expense. Mr. Barber no doubt has the best of intentions, but he does not seem to be made of the stuff which will get us out of this impasse.

Quack Medicine

The people of the United States spend some $25 billion annually on gambling. In some social strata gambling is an endemic disease, resembling alcoholism. Many of the people who could afford to lose, don't gamble; they are too smart. Many who gamble can't afford to lose, but that doesn't stop them. Yet, with all the misery that the gambling fever brings in its train, the politicians want more of it. They will do anything for tax revenue — a standard of morality which, in some other connections, would land the offender in jail.

New Hampshire has approved a state lottery and other states are flirting with the idea. In New York City Mayor Wagner is in favor of off-track betting and has managed to get on the ballot a city referendum on the subject. The vote will probably be in favor, since more New Yorkers bet on the horses through bookies than at the track. The latter requires a certain amount of leisure and money besides the wagers; the former requires only a telephone call. But the referendum will be only advisory, since the state legislature must sanction the innovation before it can become law.

The city administration is Democratic, the state administration is Republican. For once, *The Nation* finds itself in agreement with the upstate rural legislators. Assembly Speaker Joseph F. Carlino (who is not from upstate) sent two investigators to England, where betting shops have been legal since January, 1961. In England, the investigators found, people will bet on which raindrop goes down the window first. Now that the scope of betting is enlarged, Britons wager $2.8 billion annually on horses alone, or about 65 per cent of the British defense budget. In some places, the average betting is $5 or $8.40 a week among people who earn $33.60 to $42.00. And the reason for increased gambling, according to a number of recent reports, is mainly the availability of gambling premises. A tax on betting may be politically painless but it is the least efficient way of raising money; the revenue which the state derives is never more than a fraction of the amount bet and is more than offset by the direct and indirect social costs that gambling entails. In the United States, a spokesman for the Salvation Army declared, the Wagner plan would "hurt the little person . . . without providing him any public service." The proposal to license off-track betting shows the bankruptcy of ideas and morality in municipal government.

Exodus from Britain

NO ROOM AT THE TOP . . . . . Carey McWilliams

London

The big story in Britain is not the Profumo case or the coming general election or even the Great Train Robbery; rather it is the accelerating emigration of Britons, primarily to Australia. So far this year, Australian authorities have received 145,000 applications from residents of Great Britain who want to settle in Australia; applications have been pouring in at the rate of 1,000 a day. Behind these figures, impressive in themselves, is a fascinating story of population dynamics.

In the last twenty years, Britain has been invaded by a million or more immigrants, most of them colored, and most of them from Commonwealth countries, primarily from the Caribbean. At the same time, more than a million Britons have left their homeland, most of them for Australia, although many are now leaving for South Africa, of all places. About a year ago, the volume of West Indian immigration had reached a point which prompted the adoption of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. The act imposed a brake on further immigration and was, despite some fancy semantics, essentially aimed at barring further large-scale colored immigration. The key events leading up to its adoption were, of course, the racial incidents at St. Ann's Well, Nottingham, and Notting Vale. The failure to apply its provisions to the non-Commonwealth Irish was merely one of the more "visible" indications of its discriminatory bias. There may be 1,250,000 or more Irish workers in Britain; their constant back-and-forth movement makes an exact count impossible. Quite apart from this consideration, Irish workers could not have been excluded without upsetting trade relations between Britain and Ireland which are of ever-increasing importance to both countries.

But the Commonwealth Immigrants Act has merely checked, it has not stopped, West Indian immigration. Any week's batch of London newspapers carries one or more stories about West Indian stowaways, many of whom try to enter Britain by way of Ireland. Moreover, the act is premised on a work-voucher system which permits considerable administrative flexibility in enforcement. Until 1960, Pakistan and India imposed a voluntary restriction on migration to Britain, but this has begun to break down and today there is a backlog of 130,000 applications from citizens

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of both countries desiring entry permits.

The fact is that a vacuum exists in the British labor market (at least in certain sectors) which has not been generally related to the exodus of Britons. As yet, of course, both movements are of marginal importance in terms of total manpower needs; but are nevertheless of very real importance in terms of what they portend. English hospitals are now manned by a minority of English nurses; many of the interns and orderlies are "colored." The London Transportation Authority, today largely dependent on West Indian labor, maintains recruiting offices in Barbados. Currently in need of 2,400 bus drivers and 1,300 conductors, the Authority has recently dispatched a recruiting team to Malta. The British restaurant and hotel industry, largely unorganized and fantastically overstaffed with "white" flunkies, also continues to attract West Indian and other "colored" labor for the menial jobs. In fact, many London restaurants, notably those in the Lyons chain, have come to resemble the American color scheme: white waiters and waitresses, black help in the kitchens and basements. One night recently I looked into the basement of a fashionable restaurant in the Knightsbridge district and saw as motley a crew of dishwashers as one could imagine: West Indians, Chinese, Africans, et al. Even the British Army has gone multiracial. In the last few years, it has sent recruiting teams all over the Commonwealth. Included among the new recruits are Fijians, Nigerians, Ghanaians, Gurkkas, Maltese, Malays, Seychelloise and Mauritians. But true to the color scheme of its more famous units, the Army excludes Commonwealth recruits from the Household Brigade (the five regiments of Foot Guards and the Household Cavalry) and from the Scottish regiments.

If Britain is attracting low-paid colored workers — wages on the publicly owned transport system are very low indeed — her own emigrants are exclusively "white," since neither Australia nor South Africa will accept "colored." The Australian policy is stated with complete frankness. Asian and African students are welcome, as are colored visitors, but the country remains committed to a long-standing "white Australia" policy. In fact, the fear of population pressure from neighboring Asian countries is what prompted Australia to work out the carefully planned program of "assisted" immigration it has pursued since 1947. This program is designed to fill the enormous population vacuum that exists in the subcontinent. China's population increases about 12,000,000 a year; Australia has yet to achieve a population of 12,000,000.

What Australia is now attempting, through assisted and non-assisted, exclusively white immigration, drawn mostly from Britain, is to achieve a population growth of about 1 per cent a year. The natural increase is about 1.5 per cent, so that the total increase, if the plan succeeds, will be about 2.5 per cent a year. At this rate, according to A. R. Downer, Minister for Immigration, Australia will achieve a population of something like 12,500,000 in eight years' time and its second ten million in 25 years — that is, by 1988.

As an offset to Chinese population pressure, this is, of course, a ludicrously low rate of increase, but it is some assurance and the program is being pursued with energy and intelligence. In the period since 1947, Australia has attracted 1,500,000 of the 10,000,000 who constitute its present population. This year it hopes to gain through migration about 80,000, of whom approximately 45,000 will have benefited from the "assisted" emigration program, which is based upon a fairly careful sifting of applicants to get the right age, ethnic and occupational "mix." Because of administrative delays and for mechanical reasons, the backlog of applicants rises daily.

Years ago I had occasion, as Commissioner of Immigration and Housing in California, to study mass-migration movements at a time when that great state — it seems even more ironic in retrospect than it did then — was attempting by all manner of means, both fair and foul, to check the inflow of so-called Okies and Arkies upon which its subsequent wartime prosperity largely depended. Mass-migration movements have a familiar rhythm; they start slowly, as a barely perceptible trickle. Uniformly, they are motivated by sound considerations: usually, there exists a combination of "push" and "pull" factors, that is, certain forces "push" emigrants out and other forces, at the terminal point, attract them. Australia is 12,000 miles from the British ports of embarkation; it is a long jump, and people would not make it without good reason. Yet today more and more Britons are making it and only a negligible number — not more than 8 per cent — return.

This fact is in itself proof that what is involved here is a genuine mass-migration movement, but one that is still in its infancy. For at some point, in all such movements, the increasing stream suddenly becomes a flood. This point has not yet been reached in the Britain-to-Australia flow, although the sharp increase this year is an indication of things to come. With all such movements, too, the "letters home" begin to act as a prime factor in stimulating further movement. When part of a family migrates, the remaining members are under pressure to join the migrants. The volume of letters naturally increases as the number of emigrants increases. This year 80,000 emigrants, most of them British, will be writing letters home; next year the volume of mail will be still greater.

The Australian program, carefully planned, is based on economic surveys, investment policies and the like, all designed to provide jobs for migrants and to facilitate their assimilation. It is for this reason, so the Australian authorities say, that they prefer "white" English-speaking emigrants. Emigrants in need of assistance or requesting it can make the long passage to Australia from Britain for £10 ($28) — a token contribution to the actual cost. Children under nineteen years of age travel free. Emigrants travel on good, one-class P & O boats. So a family, say, of husband, wife and six children can make the passage for $56 and be assured of home and job when they arrive. In the period since 1947, Australia has aggressively sought emigrants through advertising and a skillful public-relations campaign. And it does this with little fear that it will ever have cause for regret. For in theory, Australia could eventually absorb 100,000,000 immigrants, as the late Nevil Shute once

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suggested. To March, 1963, the program had drawn 1,938,582 immigrants, of whom 957,400 came from Britain. Other nations high on the list included Holland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria, Poland.

Today Australia maintains a reciting office in London and also has offices in Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Holland, Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain and France. At one point it even sought to attract migrants from the United States but, to its embarrassment, most of the applicants were unemployed Detroit Negroes. So rather than run the risk of offending us by frankly avowing a "whites only" policy, further U.S. recruitment was discontinued for the time being. But in assessing the future of Australian immigration, the big postwar build-up of population in California should not be forgotten. Sooner or later, California is destined to discover Australia, and when it does the westward movement of population, halted on the West Coast when the first Australian gold rush petered out, will begin again. For Australia is to California what California is to the rest of the United States — the land at the end of the rainbow. And California is closer to Australia than is London.

Why do Britons decide to make the long trek to Australia? It is not because of the cheap passage, although that is what makes migration possible for many. Prospective emigrants offer up a fine assortment of "reasons": winters are too cold in Britain; the housing problem is acute; too many "blacks" are coming to Britain to compete for jobs and housing. The Common Market, the Skybolt missile incident, Suez, the Bomb, are mentioned. Nine out of ten parents say that they believe their children will have a better chance in Australia. But the longer one listens to these reasons, the more one comes to realize that none of them, standing alone, is an adequate explanation. I felt, for example, that the reasons were conjured up to justify, or rationalize, a decision that had already been made at a different level of consciousness. Officials at Australia House and South Africa House assured me, and quite convincingly, that so-called "distress" areas are not good recruiting centers; there is no correlation between areas of unemployment and areas from which the bulk of the applications come. What is of critical importance is a generalized feeling, slowly formed, often imperfectly formulated and reluctantly articulated, that Britain "has had it," that the time has come to move on.

But there is something else involved. Certain sections of British industry are highly modern and efficient. But there is a large middle sector which has operated in a protected market situation for much too long. There is upward mobility

in the society, to be sure, but it is limited and the struggle to retain whatever margin of security or status one has attained seems to be more important than any effort to advance beyond it.

Despite the new universities, British higher education is still much too narrowly based. There is a strong bias against the large university; it is widely assumed that a university education must be small-scale in order to be good. During August, the papers were full of pro-and-con arguments over whether Britain did or did not need an institution patterned on the Harvard School of Business Administration. (Mind you, the discussion was over whether they needed even *one* such institution.) Lord Franks has been assigned the task of preparing a report on the subject. In all of Britain there is not one institution comparable, say, to M.I.T. Slight wonder, then, that Britain is losing scientific talent to the United States. The Association of University Teachers calculate that 1½ per cent of all British University staff now emigrate every year; Glasgow University had the highest loss in the survey—about 11 per cent in 1960-61. Talented young British scientists are attracted to the United States not by higher salary scales alone; what primarily attracts them is the exciting possibility of being able to work in fine labs, with excellent equipment and facilities. In itself, the loss of university staff is probably not of major importance, but it is merely one of a variety of developments which serve to indicate that the generalized feeling I have mentioned is based on solid considerations.

What Australia and South Africa want, of course, are young, skilled workers. No farmers, please! Professional people—doctors, architects, teachers, nurses—yes; white-collar workers, some; but, above all, skilled workers. And that is exactly what they are getting — despite the fact that there is already a shortage of skilled workers in Britain. Roughly a third of the emigrants to Australia fall in the twenty-to-twenty-nine age category; roughly a third are "craftsmen and production-process workers." Because Australia is in the Commonwealth and recruits by agreement, it soft-pedals the aim of recruiting skilled workers.

But South Africa, which has left the Commonwealth, makes frank avowal in its advertisements that what it wants are skilled workers: building workers, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, electrical workers, machinists, chemists, quantity surveyors, instrument makers, toolmakers, et al. South Africa launched its program of "assisted" emigration in 1961. It maintains recruiting offices in London and also in Germany, Italy, Greece, Holland, France, Sweden, Portugal and Spain. In addition to skilled workers, it needs doctors, teachers, university instructors, et al., to replace the talent it has lost or driven out because of its apartheid policies. Natal is estimated to have lost 20 per cent of its radiologists and 10 per cent of its architects in the past two years. Strange as it may seem, the South African recruiting program is succeeding. This year, the country has received 5,000 more applications than in 1962; the number of applications should ex-

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ceed 20,000 by the end of the year. Emigrants from London to Johannesburg are offered air fare at approximately half the regular price and children under two years of age, not occupying seats, travel for 10 per cent of the adult fare. In some instances, South Africa has succeeded in inducing an entire English plant — managers, technicians, workers and machinery — to migrate; several textile plants, for example, have been lured from Britain in this manner.

South Africa, of course, pursues a "whites only" policy and maintains a standing offer to pay resident Indians a bonus and passage money if they want to return to India. None do so. Neither Australia nor South Africa wants elderly people, but some come as members of families. One of the factors stimulating the Australian migration is that a British subject can, after six months' residence, become an Australian citizen on payment of a 15 shillings fee, and social services are integrated in such a way that British emigrants forfeit no rights.

One of the ironies in the situation is that Britain is underwriting its own population depletion. Under various Commonwealth acts and agreements, a fund was established to help settle the Dominions with good, sound British subjects. From this fund, the British Government currently contributes about £150,000 ($450,000) annually to stimulate migration to Australia. This, I was told, hardly pays the cost of getting the emigrants from their homes to the ports of embarkation, but it is an interesting indication of the curious situation in which the British now find themselves. Actually the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of last year, I was told, is of doubtful constitutionality in some respects; but Pakistan and India, thousands of whose subjects are anxious to go to Britain to work, have thus far cooperated with the British Government in policing the act on a voluntary basis. Even so, the British are aware that in their eagerness to strengthen Commonwealth ties in times past, they may have strengthened some of these ties more than they realized or intended.

Officials at South Africa House explained to me, with the extreme courtesy that seems to be a part of the South African syndrome, that they were opening up agricultural opportunities for "white" emigrants from Kenya on the assumption that there is no possible future for them in Kenya. But they are not at all anxious to accept "white" settlers from Rhodesia; they much prefer that these settlers stay where they are, to form a barrier against "black" Africa. But the same officials, when pressed, conceded that South Africa may eventually have to accept the bulk of the "white" settlers in Southern Rhodesia.

Underlying the interchange of population now taking place within the Commonwealth is a larger issue. Where, today, can "white" Europeans migrate? Black Africa no longer provides an outlet for "second sons"; nor does India or Pakistan or Ceylon or the West Indies. In Latin America there is a language barrier. With fairly high levels of unemployment, Canada has been distinctly cool to the idea of encouraging immigration; it operates a loan scheme, but has no formal program of "assisted" emigration. Even so, migration to Canada from Britain has increased in the last few years: from 13,295 in 1961 to 16,055 in 1962. And in the last six months the number of applicants has jumped; between January and June, 11,396 settlers arrived, compared with 6,693 for the same period last year.

New Zealand, like Australia, has an "assisted" emigration scheme, but a more modest one. Single women under thirty-five get free passage, whereas single men pay £25 ($70) toward their fare, and married people £50. Like Australia, the New Zealand authorities have been deluged with applicants since January. New Zealand House in London received 400 letters a day during the first four months of the year, and between April, 1962, and March, 1963, more than 10,000 made their own unassisted way there (about two-thirds of the total figure do so every year), while 4,200 were "assisted."

No European country is eager to receive immigrants, although some need workers and the French have managed to absorb the former Algerian *colons* with remarkable ease. Emigration to the United States is costly and is definitely discouraged. For example, *The Emigrants' Guide*, the authoritative manual by Walter Marsden which is consulted by all prudent emigrants, contains this frigid statement of official U.S. policy: "The U.S. does *not* ask for immigrants. The U.S. has *no* assisted immigration or passage scheme. The U.S. Embassies do *not* find jobs for intending immigrants. The U.S. Embassies do *not* arrange packing or transport of baggage and effects for immigrants." In a word: emigrants, stay where you are; the famous inscription on the Statue of Liberty belongs to history. Even so, the U.S. Embassy in London issued almost 13,000 immigrant visas during the first half of this year compared with just over 21,000 for the whole of 1962. Of these, however, many were the wives of U.S. servicemen.

So while the United States, Canada and New Zealand offer some opportunities, South Africa and Australia are the prime recruiters. It seems incredible that skilled workers, with families, should be willing to take a chance on South Africa; but, just as South Africa can attract capital, so it attracts emigrants; economic opportunities seem more important than the threatening political storm clouds. But South Africa cannot absorb immigrants on the scale that Australia can, nor is it nearly as attractive. On balance, then, the conclusion would seem to be that Australia stands on the threshold of a long period of population growth based on a policy of selective "assisted" emigration.

Events could, of course, retard or halt this migration. The initiation of exciting educational and other reforms in Britain might generate an entirely new atmosphere; but, even so, Britain is "old" and Australia is "new." A city such as Liverpool literally reeks of social old age. Perhaps, in the end, Britain will be invigorated by the exchange of population, one phase of which has been temporarily moderated by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. As Colin MacInnes pointed out in *The Spectator* (June 7, 1963), Britain has always been "invaded by new races"— Romans, Danes, Normans—and perhaps an infusion of West Indians would be a good thing. Vigorous, attractive, hard-working, they, like the Irish, are drawn to Britain by factors that will not easily be offset or reversed. "To us, the natives," writes MacInnes, "this new stock presents a mar-

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velous opportunity. No one can doubt that England in so many ways is jaded, needing new vitality. Without our wishing it—let alone, God knows, planning it — Puck's [Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*] voice has summoned from every continent of the globe new races whose chief common characteristic is a grim will to survive." The summoning of these "new British" may be a necessary aspect of the restructuring of the economy and of British social life. The first year of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act has already prompted suggestions that it should be modified. Later this year it will be up for renewal and the debate will no doubt touch on the mounting exodus of Britons.

As to Australia, there cannot be any doubt that it stands to profit — and is profiting — enormously from the population movement it has skillfully set in motion. For it should be kept in mind that *every* migrant brings something to Australia besides energy and skill; every migrant has some money, some property, some capital or some credit. A family, completing arrangements for passage to Australia when I was in Australia House, intended to manufacture costume jewelry in Australia and had approximately $20,000 to invest. The 80,000 emigrants who will go this year will transfer sizable funds and will doubtless draw on friends and relatives for further funds as they uncover opportunities for investment.

The question is, can Australia, in the end, make a "white Australia" policy work? Two years ago an Immigration Reform Association was formed for the purpose of urging some modification of the racial ban. Perhaps Australia will, in time, accept emigrants from Asian countries on a selective basis. In any case, the big move to Australia is under way and it will well repay continued close scrutiny.

CHINA: New Alternatives . . . . . C. P. Fitzgerald

Is it possible, given the Sino-Russian rift, that the time has finally come when a reconsideration of United States policy toward mainland China may be possible? Nearly fifteen years have elapsed since Washington settled into its negative policy of containment and, apart from Sino-Russian difficulties, it would seem that the policy has about run its course. As events from World War I to the present have repeatedly shown, the most "fixed and settled" policies of nations toward one another seldom endure longer.

It may therefore be asked whether the end of the present U.S. policy towards the People's Republic of China is not at hand. And further, if this be so, what form a changed policy might take, and what effects upon China would follow from such a change.

There are three stages, or ways, in which policy could be changed: slightly, seriously or drastically. The least change, and therefore the easiest to manage from the political point of view, would be the relaxation or abandonment of the embargo on trade and commercial dealing with China, except in respect of strategic military articles. With this would go the removal of travel restrictions on merchants, the press and private citizens. Such a change would only bring U.S. policy into alignment with that followed by Britain and a number of other powers, many of which do not have diplomatic relations with Peking. There would, in fact, be no need for actual recognition of the Peking government nor for diplomatic relations: neither France, Italy, Canada nor Australia, to name but a few states, has gone further than this.

The second stage, or approach, would be *de facto* recognition of the Peking government. This device, frequently used in the nineteenth century and sometimes in the early part of the present century, has lately fallen into abeyance. By it, a government not wishing to pass final judgment upon the legitimacy or durability of a new regime, recognizes it as *de facto* the government in actual control of the territory in which it performs the functions of sovereignty. An example of this practice was the recognition of the Lithuanian Republic in the period following the Russian revolution, without endorsing its claims to the city of Vilna (which it claimed to be the capital of the country) at a time when Vilna was held by Poland, which claimed it as a part of that country. The United States could, using this device, recognize Peking *de facto* as the government of mainland China, and enter into trade relations, perhaps limited diplomatic relations also, without formally denying the claim of the Nationalist regime in Formosa that it is the legal government of China.

The third, the drastic change, would be to extend *de jure* recognition to Peking as the legal government of all China, which would imply withdrawing such recognition from the Nationalist government, but not necessarily handing Formosa over to China. It would be for the Chinese regimes to settle the question between them, by force or by agreement. It is possible that concurrent with such recognition of Peking, an agreement by which both Chinese regimes agreed to renounce seeking a solution by force of arms could be negotiated.

It is not the purpose of this article to consider whether political reasons would prevent the U.S. Administration from following any one of these courses, nor to discuss which of them might meet with the least opposition; if the necessity for change becomes sufficiently imperative, one or other will be adopted, perhaps first one and then another. The possible Chinese reaction to these various policies is in itself one of the factors which may lead to their adoption or rejection. It is hardly in doubt that if the third, the drastic change, were decided upon, the effects upon China would be great. China would have scored—in her own view—a great

C. P. Fitzgerald teaches Far Eastern history at Australian National University and is the author of several books on China, where he lived for twenty-five years.

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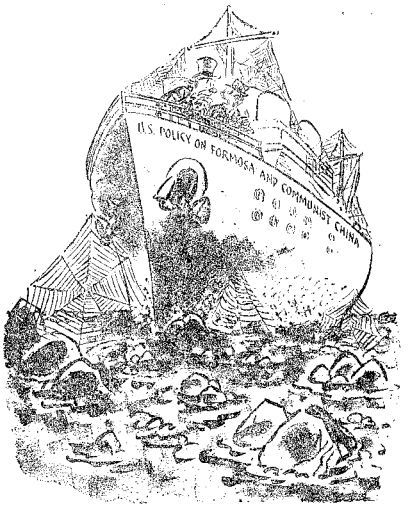
diplomatic success, defeated the policy of the "reactionary imperialists" and proved to herself and the rest of the world the value of the hard line so far followed. Thereafter, it could be hoped that China would be less intransigent, more willing to discuss and less eager to declaim; that gradually relations would stabilize, not indeed upon a truly friendly basis, but upon what now passes for the normal footing between the cold-war blocs. This may well seem but a meager reward for so great a reversal of policy. It is, in any case, very unlikely that such a forthright alteration would be made in one move, at the present time.

If the United States were to adopt the plan of *de facto* recognition of Peking, it is certain that China would respond with angry indignation. The move would be denounced as another "imperialist plot" to contrive the creation of "Two Chinas," an idea which both Peking and Taipei denounce as incompatible with the unity and integrity of the Chinese nation. But *de facto* recognition is a unilateral act; a declaration that, in the view of the government making such recognition, the government so recognized does in fact control the region, and is the regime with which relations concerning it must be carried on.

In one sense, the United States Government has already admitted that this is the position. At Geneva, concerning the neutrality of Laos, and at Warsaw and later at Geneva, in the conversations between Ambassadors, the Administration has accepted the fact that Peking rules in China, and has made limited but real agreements to which both nations have put their signatures. Peking might dislike *de facto* recognition, but there is nothing that the Chinese government could do to stop the United States from making such a declaration. Once made, it would be for Peking to decide how far this change should modify her attitudes. America would have made a gesture, which would cost little, if it also altered little, but would demonstrate a flexibility and a willingness to seek solutions which have not been evident in the past.

If, as would seem the most probable, any change were at first limited to a relaxation of the trade



Herblock: The Washington Post

"Hey — Does It Feel as If We're Beginning to Move?"

and travel embargo, an act which Washington could perform without consulting Peking at all, it is likely that the reaction from China would be somewhat scornful in words, but quite practical in acts. The government of the People's Republic has not allowed ideology to interfere with trade in other cases. Those Western and also South American powers who do not recognize Peking have no difficulty in trading with China. Their merchants and businessmen frequent the trade fairs at Canton, fill the hotels in Peking. They enter easily, at short notice, are hospitably entertained by the officials of the trading corporations that deal with them, and do good business. On the evidence, a continued ideological offensive against "imperialism" would be quite compatible with an active U.S.-China trade.

When the pattern of China's recent trade deals with Western countries is examined, it is clear that practical considerations, some of them farsighted, are dominant. China has continued to purchase wheat from Australia and from Canada. Payment has been punctilious; in consequence, the China market for the wheat crop has become an important factor in the Australian economy and this in turn begins to affect the political attitudes of key sections of the Australian electorate. China has also bought Viscount aircraft from Britain, thus detaching her civil air transport industry from exclusive reliance on Russia, and linking herself for future supplies and present maintenance with Britain. There can be little doubt that so far-reaching a decision, involving as it does the presence in China for some time of a large number of British technicians brought in to train air and ground crews, could only have been taken at a very high level, and was made as a reinsurance against deteriorating relations with the USSR.

It is against the background of the Sino-Soviet dispute that the possibility of a change of American policy toward China becomes more than idle speculation. It can hardly now be denied that this dispute has fundamentally altered the international situation. China, no longer counting upon Russia's friendship and assistance (which she declares have already been denied to her), will seek other friends, and still more other sources of the technical assistance and key imports which her economic reconstruction requires. The view that China's policy is headed for a world war is not really borne out by facts, as opposed to words.

Even the Russian allegation that China believes a better world would be built on the ruins of a nuclear war (an idea which the Russians seem to have taken from the press of the West) has but slight foundation in any published Chinese polemic. In these documents (the letter of June 14 to the Soviet Communist Party), it is asserted, on the contrary, that China realizes full well what nuclear war would mean, but believes that it is no longer within the range of real dangers.

It is argued that the "imperialists" would not dare to use such weapons, as they would themselves be destroyed by the retaliation of the "Communist Camp." The Communist countries, of course, being Socialist, and therefore peace-loving, would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. Here, at least, the Russians profess agreement. So nuclear war is a "paper tiger," not because it has no claws, but because it cannot be employed. The revolutionaries therefore should "despise it tactically" but "take account of it strategically."

In other words, Russia is a faint heart for not using her nuclear power to threaten the West, and under cover of the threat to back up and promote the revolutions of the underdeveloped countries. How-

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ever, the putting of rockets and missiles into Cuba was "adventurism" for the very reason that this was not a necessary act to sustain Cuba nor the best way to threaten the United States. China does not expect a war, and is therefore willing to engage her civil air transport deeply with the British imperialists, use Australian wheat to relieve her food shortages, trade with all powers.

A change in U.S. policy would be taken as a justification of China's line, and would, perhaps, annoy Russia. But if Russia were inclined to accuse the United States of playing off one Communist power against the other, it could truly be retorted that this is only taking a leaf from a well-thumbed Russian book. The Chinese have not the bomb, and they cannot now start a nuclear war even if they were really inclined to take the consequences. They also believe that it is because they have no nuclear power that they are shunned and ostracized. In their view, only power counts. Once a state has the ultimate weapons, it makes no difference what kind of regime is in power; that state will be recognized, treated as an equal. If it has not this power, then no matter what ties of ideology or old alliance may bind it to a stronger partner, it will still be treated as inferior, ultimately "expendable." They consider these hard facts demonstrated by the history of recent U.S.-Soviet relations, by the relations which subsist between the Western allies themselves, and now also by what appears to be the reality in relations between the Communist powers themselves.

The Chinese should, on this line of realistic reasoning, consider any American change of policy as a reflection of their own growing power. If a change comes before they achieve nuclear armaments, they will consider it as an intelligent anticipation of a forthcoming event: if afterwards, as a tardy, less intelligent, acknowledgment of a new fact. It is vain to expect, in the short run, or even for a long time to come, that a change of Washington's China policy would win Chinese good will even if the difficult problem of Taiwan, the Nationalist seat at UN and suchlike entanglements could be satisfactorily disposed of. China, being in an age of faith, will still believe that the heathen must soon perish from the face of the earth. But she will not feel that she has the duty to achieve this aim by suicidal holocaust.

There could well be a relaxation of tensions — the more certain and the more lasting if not too abruptly attempted. It will be more difficult for the Chinese to continue in a vein of sustained denunciation of America if America is deliberately, but firmly, engaged in a policy tending toward normal relations. It may well be that if the Russian heresy — as the Chinese see it — develops, the main weight of the propaganda machine will be thrown against Moscow in the hope of capturing the allegiance of the Communist parties of the world. Since America is not a Communist state and has no Communist Party worth worrying about, she could find herself suddenly on the sidelines of this great dispute — ignored as irremediably capitalist — but, if willing, a useful source for trade and technical advance.

It is very probable that these gains, if gains they are, will hardly seem worth while to many Americans: why involve the nation and the political parties in a new source of contention and strife? If China gets the bomb, it will be time to think about the whole matter, but just now it is better to leave the Chinese to quarrel with the Russians and take advantage of the more accommodating temper which this quarrel seems to induce in the Kremlin. The more aid that China gets, the sooner will her economy advance and her ability to produce nuclear weapons appear. This is not a Western, nor an American, interest and should not be served.

There are always excellent arguments for doing nothing: they have the drawback that if followed, they leave the initiative to the other side. It is said to be a rule of war that the initiative should always, if at all possible, be retained by the side which hopes for victory. There seems to be no reason to think that this rule does not apply to cold war. It may also be argued that the fact that no approach has been made to China, no hint of a possible change of policy admitted, precludes anyone from forming a sound judgment of what China's reaction to such a change might be. Clearly the Chinese are not going to announce, in advance of any terms being offered, what they might settle for. The present rulers may be Communists, but they are still Chinese, a people with a very old tradition of compromise and bargaining, and a very fine skill in carrying out such transactions.

PROSPERITY through EQUALITY... Loren Miller

If America's 19 million Negroes and all their property were tucked neatly away in a country of their own on the coast of Africa or in some island in the sea, their nation would rate a high priority in our foreign-aid program. And justly so. Theirs would be a country with a better than 90 per cent basic literacy rate, with a fair number of skilled workers interspersed with a preponderance of unskilled and agricultural laborers, an emergent middle class and a good proportion of lawyers, doctors, schoolteachers and civil servants, all of them English-speaking and practically all of them with a deep commitment to the democratic way of life. But their nation would need aid, and need it quickly, because its growing unemployment rate would already stand at depression levels; its relief rolls would be bulging; a substantial percentage of its basic literates would be functionally illiterate; 16 per cent of its housing would be substandard; its illegitimacy rate and school dropouts

Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil-rights attorney, is a vice president of the NAACP and publisher of the California Eagle, *one of the country's oldest Negro newspapers. His article, "Farewell to Liberals"* (The Nation, *Oct. 20, 1962*), *aroused widespread interest.*

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would be high and its median family income low; its youth victimized by a high degree of hard-core family poverty and, worst of all, the trends toward accentuation of its social ills aggressively increasing. Despite the shortcomings, the nation would represent a current $12 billion annual market with an increasing desire for consumer goods ranging from hair oil to automobiles.

The assumption here is that the market in this theoretical nation would be pre-empted by American industry and, keeping to that assumption, a marked increase in the demand for consumer goods would give the American economy a shot in the arm that would be reflected in a trend toward fuller, if not full, employment for all Americans. If, through American aid, the income of its 19 million inhabitants could be raised to the levels of Americans of comparable economic strata, the Negro nation's income would be more than doubled to an approximate $28 billion; and, if such a sum were pumped into the American economy by consumers of American goods, our own gross national product would be raised some 2.5 per cent, according to Walter W. Heller, chairman of the President's Council on Economic Advisers.

A rise in this theoretical nation's income could occur only with a drastic reduction of its functional illiteracy, an enormous retraining of its workers, wholesale improvements in its housing, a plummeting of its relief rolls, marked decreases in unemployment, illegitimacy and crime and juvenile delinquency rates and, best of all, a reversal of presently falling living standards and of socially undesirable and harmful conduct. In short, the nation would move toward white American standards. Foreign aid would have served its exact purpose: It would have assisted a friendly, underdeveloped country and it would simultaneously have benefited the American economy.

Even though our example creaks at the joints because Negroes aren't residents on some foreign shore, but are in fact Americans scattered throughout our own country, there is nevertheless a quickening demand for some sort of internal Marshall Plan designed to close the gap between them and other Americans. "The U.S. must learn to look upon the Negro community as if it were an underdeveloped country," *Fortune* magazine commented in March, 1962. James Farmer, director of CORE, recently proposed a gigantic federal public-works program to provide jobs for Negroes, containing provisions for education and retraining, with the explanation that such a program would "stimulate the economy," improve schools, provide housing and other facilities for those in need, and give factual substance to the equality aspirations of the President's civil-rights program.

Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, has consistently urged a crash program to ameliorate the Negro's social and economic plight and, on June 9, the League's board, which is moderate by popular standards, passed a special resolution saying that "The National Urban League challenges the responsible leadership of our country to undertake a massive 'Marshall Plan' approach of intensified special effort to close the wide economic, social and educational gap which separates the large majority of Negro citizens from other Americans." Pauli Murray, lawyer-author, has told Radcliffe alumni that "If the United States can spend billions of dollars in foreign aid to help bring less-developed countries abreast of the modern age, it can at least offer comparable assistance to a deprived sector of its own citizenry. We need an 'Operation Bootstrap' which engages in a massive national effort to raise the hopes and standards of the forgotten part of our population. . . ."

The proposals for an aid program do not indicate disagreement with the President's civil-rights program. Rather, there is enthusiastic support for it combined with concern that Negroes do not wind up with a mouthful of civil rights while living in hovels and subsisting on relief or starvation wages. The aim of an aid program is to close the social, economic and educational gap that yawns between white and Negro Americans.

The gap, about which everybody is talking, is wide and deep. The median annual income for the Negro family today is $3,233 compared to $5,835 for whites — a gap of some 45 per cent. The unskilled, semi-skilled and service workers account for 75 per cent of all Negro workers, as compared to 39 per cent for whites. The Department of Labor said in March that "In 1962 non-whites (mainly Negroes) made up 11 per cent of the civil labor force, but 22 per cent of the unemployed . . . an unemployment rate over twice that of white workers." In 1962 the unemployment rate for non-whites 14 to 19 years of age stood at 21 per cent for boys, 28 per cent for girls; the comparable figures for white boys and girls was 12 per cent. Negro youngsters constitute about 15 per cent of the youth population be-

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tween 16 and 21, but 50 per cent of the unemployed and out-of-school youths between those ages are Negroes. Leon Keyserling told the NAACP this summer that 22 per cent of the nation's hard-core poverty is concentrated in the Negro 10 per cent of the population.

One in every six Negro dwelling units is substandard as compared to one in 32 for whites; Negroes occupy 47 per cent of the nation's public housing. One in every four Negro women with pre-school children is working away from her home; only 7 per cent of 1960's high school graduates were Negroes; and in that year, 21 per cent of the school dropouts were Negroes. President Kennedy summed up these statistics in his civil-rights message:

> *The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing a high school as a white baby, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.*

The figures are alarming enough, but the trends are worse: they are ominous. The gap between Negro median family income and that of whites increased from 43 per cent in 1952 to 45 per cent in 1960. The gap in white-Negro unemployed rates has increased since 1957 and unemployment spells tend to last longer among Negro workers than among whites. Non-white workers, who represented 11 per cent of the labor force and 22 per cent of the unemployed, accounted for 26 per cent of the long-term unemployed — which means that many of them are permanently jobless. The Department of Labor notes that during recovery periods in employment, "There is a definite lag in the recovery of unemployment rates among non-whites. . . . For non-white workers the recovery not only came later; it was also less vigorous. . . . Once [the non-white worker] loses his job he is less likely to be recalled or to find another." Non-white girls have a much higher unemployment rate than any other group in the entire labor force, and the trend in that respect is accelerating. The number of Negroes on aid programs is on the upswing, both absolutely and in percentage comparison.

I have cited these statistics at tiresome length because they are unknown, indeed not even guessed at, by the average American. When he is confronted with them, the man of good will is apt to jump to the easy conclusions that if we can just wipe out existing racial inequalities and give the Negro an even-steven chance from now on, we will have solved the problem. The disturbing truth, as Eli Ginzberg of Columbia has pointed out, is that "If the color barriers could be eliminated overnight, that fact alone would not materially improve the position of the Negro." The increase in the Negro unemployment rate in states with enforceable, and enforced, fair-employment statutes points up that observation. Fair employment is unavailing without the compensation of full employment. Secretary of Labor William Wirtz puts the case that "It will be a hollow victory if we get the 'Whites Only' signs down only to find 'No Vacancies' signs behind them. It is essential that we solve this unemployment problem for all workers, white and non-white." That is good as far as it goes, but there is more to it than that.

If we got the "Whites Only" and "No Vacancies" signs down tomorrow, employment would still be stratified, with a grossly disproportionate number of whites at the top and an equally disproportionate number of Negroes in the lower reaches of the laboring force. Full employment would stimulate and step up automation with its inevitable disemployment of workers in the unskilled and menial categories —where Negroes are concentrated. Of course, *if* we sustained full employment long enough, and *if* we rid the nation of racial discrimination and *if* Negroes got the requisite training and education, we could ultimately attain our ideal of man-to-man employment equality and clear up the backlog of problems in housing, urban residence and other social relationships. That would take several generations and we are running out of time. The question is how we can speed up the process.

In the case of the underdeveloped nations, we have decided as a matter of national policy that it is to our best interest to accelerate their growth and development, partially because of our moral commitment to help our neighbors and partially because we think it is good business. Those same considerations plus the understandable desire for equality on the part of Negroes undergird suggestions for a "Marshall Plan" to aid Negroes as a group in our internal society. However, the suggestion is more easily made than formulated as a workable plan.

At the threshold we are met with the ironic circumstance that governmental assistance to a racial group, as such, runs counter to equalitarian constitutional principles. The guarantees of our Constitution accrue to *persons*, not to groups. The Civil War Amendments, the Great Charter of Negro rights, were enacted in an effort to wipe out the racial distinctions found to be embodied in the original Constitution by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. The Supreme Court restored the Dred Scott dogma of constitutional sanction of race distinctions by the *Plessy* case holding in 1896, and subsequent separate-but-equal decisions, with the ruling that the states, and inferentially the national government, could classify citizens on the basis of race and restrict the individual right to use state facilities on the basis of the classification. Thus we got Negro schools, Negro parks, Negro regiments and the whole gamut of Negro institutions through the use of racial classificatory schemes. The controversial civil-rights decisions of the past three decades amount to nothing more than Supreme Court rulings that the states may *not* use racial classification, direct or indirect, as the basis for school assignments, access to the ballot box, use of a public park or seating arrangements in a bus. Public-accommodation statutes, or fair-housing or fair-employment laws, simply interdict the use of racial classification by the innkeeper, the landlord or the employer in the selection of customers, tenants or employees. Color blindness is enjoined on the federal government, the states and private individuals. In theory the rule works both ways:

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Benefits can no more be bestowed on a racial basis than burdens imposed because of color.

However, three hundred years of imposition of disabilities because of race have presented us with a condition and not a theory. The National Urban League resolution grapples with the thorny problem by asserting that special help for Negroes "which may appear to be in conflict with the principle of equal treatment for all, is required to overcome the damaging effects of generations of deprivation and denial and to make it possible for the majority of American Negroes to reach the point at which they can compete on a basis of equality in the nation's increasingly complex and fast moving industrial economy." A way out of the constitutional impasse may be found through use of the principle embodied in federal legislation designed to assist depressed areas and defense-impacted communities.

Sprawling Negro ghettos in every large and small city, with their chronic unemployment, their over-representation on relief rolls, their crime and juvenile-delinquency problems, and their need for education *are* depressed areas which do not qualify for aid under existing legislation because they are lumped in with advantaged sections of their cities to take the larger community out of the depressed-area classification. Legislation which extended the depressed-area label to geographic sections of metropolitan complexes could bring Negro communities within a permissible constitutional classification because race would not be an ostensible basis. Since 72 per cent of the nation's Negroes live in urban areas, almost three-fourths of the Negro population could be reached in this manner. Rural poverty and deprivation are largely concentrated in the South's black-belt counties, and an extension of the depressed-area concept to include rural areas could conceivably include them.

Finding a constitutional way to extend aid to Negroes as such does not solve other problems inherent in the Marshall Plan racial proposals. *Fortune* did not spell out the workings of its proposal that the "U.S. . . . look upon the Negro community as an underdeveloped country." Farmer's "massive public works" program is simply an injunction to use the depression recipe of made-work to build "schools, highways, houses" and other needed facilities with complementary programs to educate Negroes. The Urban League skirts the public-works idea and calls for the "cooperative effort of many social agencies, both public and private"; it urges "government, philanthropic foundations, business and industry" to reassess "the extent of their financial support to established organizations committed to securing equal opportunity for Negro citizens" and it proposes the assignment of the "best" teachers and other such persons to schools and public facilities in Negro communities. In another sector where the subject of "special" aid to Negroes is never mentioned, but where it lurks beneath the surface, President Kennedy and a number of state governors have urged searching examinations of public service, both to step up Negro recruitment and to correct the present dismal civil-service practices that freeze Negroes in the bottom rungs of employment. They have also used pressures to compel the employment of Negroes by public-works contractors and their admission to unions controlling such employment.

There is no use blinking the fact that all of these proposals contemplate what the *Fortune* article bluntly called "positive discrimination" and what the more polite call "compensatory action to overcome serious racial disabilities resulting from historic handicaps." (India calls a similar prescription to aid lower castes "preferential equality.") Opponents call it "segregation in reverse" or "compensatory discrimination." Call it what you will, the fact is that the nation has been presented with a bill for the cost of three centuries of exclusion of Negroes from the main current of American life. We made a few minuscule token payments almost a century ago when we established the Freedmen's Bureau after the Civil War, but decided to let the debt ride after a short, seven-year experiment. Principal and accrued interest, at compound rates, are now due.

There seems to be no escape from government sponsorship in this matter through some kind of public-works program to be mapped out with the same care with which we extend, or say we extend, foreign aid to build dams or other internal improvements that will help the body politic of the underdeveloped nation. Renovation of decaying Negro ghettos will not only better the housing conditions of Negroes, but attract whites back into the city proper to batter at residential segregation. And of course there is sound warrant for programs to lift the educational level of Negro adults and children alike, with the term education used in its widest sense to cover academic learning and training to fit the pupil, adult or child, for active participation in the economic structure of the country. There is much to be done in retraining and apprentice programs. Governmental expenditures won't be enough; there must be governmental leadership to enlist business and industry and the whole range of voluntary organizations in finding ways to recruit Negroes into the industrial and economic aspects of our social order.

Any such proposal, especially with its overtones of compensation for past deprivations, is bound to rouse bitter opposition, ranging from principled objections to more government intrusion into private business and added bureaucracy, through whites and Negroes who will fear reduction of Negroes to wardship of the federal government, and on to those who have a stake, fancied or real, in perpetuating the present racial stratification. The best possibility for selling the program, as the phrase goes, would lie in a demonstration that governmental expenditures would stimulate the economy to a degree that it would spur us toward our full-employment goal and that, as momentum was gathered through private participation, we could see a reasonable probability of both a drastic reduction in unemployment and an accretion to the gross national product. Unfortunately, nobody can *demonstrate* that supposition. What is apparent is that our economy does need a shot in the arm.

The nation has been embarked on a fairly brisk expansion which has now lasted about as long as any postwar recovery, but we haven't been able to cope with the unemployment problem. Heller explains

(Continued on page 168)

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The Pain of Being Unbound

AFRICA UNBOUND. By Alex Quaison-Sackey. Frederick A. Praeger. 174 pp. $4.95 cloth; $1.95 paper.
THE MIND OF AFRICA. By William E. Abraham. University of Chicago Press. 206 pp. $4.
POEMS FROM BLACK AFRICA. Edited by Langston Hughes. Indiana University Press. 158 pp. $4.95.

Ezekiel Mphahlele

Africa's common preoccupations in this half of the twentieth century are the struggle for liberation, the unity of her peoples, non-alignment in the cold war, and the desire to see the United Nations become more and more an instrument for the liberation of man and a just arbiter in world conflicts. Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's delegate to the UN, treats of these preoccupations in *Africa Unbound*. No one can accuse him of lack of confidence in the ability of Africa to project a coherent personality in world affairs. Indeed it is this admirable confidence and persistent enthusiasm that Ghana injects into world affairs in general and African problems in particular, and Mr. Quaison-Sackey's book is the embodiment of these Ghanaian traits.

The author sketches in broad lines the independence movement in Africa, and the two main conferences that Ghana called with a view to forging the unity of African states. Both of these—the Accra Conference of Independent States and the All-African People's Conference—were held in 1958, three years after Bandung, but nothing in the form of a permanent organization arose from them. The chief reason for this was that African states soon split into blocs and all energy was dissipated. Also, too many countries were still not free, and the conference's ambition to meet yearly did not reckon with the fact that the freedom movements had neither the time nor the money to send their leaders to Pan-African meetings. The Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa was more realistic because it was a functional body that concentrated on clearing the pockets of white supremacy in particular areas.

But Ghana need not feel despondent because even the last Addis Ababa conference failed to effect the political unity President Nkrumah has been urging from the start. Perhaps such a union is not even desirable. It is a big enough undertaking to focus Africa's resources on routing white supremacy and racism; it is enough that practical problems like customs, communication, economic and cultural affairs can now be tackled by appropriate unified agencies.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey lays heavy emphasis on the "African Personality." He sees it as an ideal which cannot yet be defined; but that does not prevent him from stating its role in definite terms. It is, he says, the cultural expression of what is common to all peoples whose homes are on the Continent of Africa.

The author sees *négritude* and the African Personality as complementing each other. *Négritude,* he rightly observes, is an "exile," it does not have its roots in Africa; whereas the African Personality is geographically limited to the black continent. The African Personality "seeks first to find itself before it attempts to seek reconciliation, and takes action, creative action, in trying to realize the dreams of Negritude." *Négritude* on the other hand, he says, stresses a common conditioning, a common cultural background, and seeks to reconcile Negro culture with Western culture. Whatever the difference between these two, Mr. Quaison-Sackey justifiably warns the people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere to "continue to strive for the equality that cannot be separated from human dignity . . . in the country in which they live." They must, he adds, maintain their bonds with Africa.

What is it that leads a man to speak of *The Mind of Africa*? William Abraham, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Ghana University and the first African to be made Fellow of All Souls at Oxford, is prompted to this title by his belief that there is a world view to which African religion and theology, morality and social organizations and all other central concepts can commonly be related. His model is his own people, the Akan of Ghana. One key concept of the Akan is their view of wrong and sin. They hardly distinguish between the two, in the way the West tries to separate them: "sin was the counterpart in human activity of contradiction in human thinking. Since contradiction paralyzes thought, it follows that sin or evil would be heavily punished." On the other hand, he argues, the result of the growth of science in the West has been that morality comes to be based on that "complex which suits men in their present circumstances, or on the consensus of human opinion. A sort of utilitarianism and naturalism in ethics would then be almost inevitable. Politics come to emphasize institutions with but scant mention of their ideals."

The differences the author points out between modern European art and traditional African art with its symbolic and functional character are all valid. But I think Mr. Abraham oversimplifies the unity of African cultures. It is quite clear that there are points of identity like communal responsibility, the irreducible essence of man, or the idea of "being" as the center of life — life as an end in itself, and so on. But why we need a Pan-African "policy" deriving from the heritage of Africa so that "solutions validated within such a policy could be found to the advantage of . . . natural unity . . . to give Africa a continental outlook," we are not told. One would have thought that individual African nations had more than enough to cope with in the cultural development of their own peoples without having at the same time, at any rate initially, to waste time and money subscribing to a cultural policy that seeks to ram everything into a continental mode. Is the Muslim North also included in this policy?

This reviewer's experience indicates that, except for Ghana, governments are not enough interested in cultural activity to devote attention and money to sponsor it. And often we advance sentiments of international African solidarity to conceal national inertia and apathy, thinking at the same time that we can exorcise some intangible, ill-defined "'cultural neo-colonialism"

Ezekiel Mphahlele is the director of the African program for the Congress for Cultural Freedom. He is the author of The African Image *(Praeger); an autobiography,* Down Second Avenue *(Faber), and numerous short stories.*

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merely with our corporate blackness. The real test of what we can make of our urban and rural cultures in confrontation with modern techniques, economic systems and mass media is to found in our national endeavor: in cultural projects that involve communities at different levels of sophistication, so that culture is not just for an elite class, or merely something to talk about, or merely ideological posturing. Ghana's endeavor to expose the masses to cultural activity under complete state control, and Nigeria's through the nongovernmental Mbari writers' and artists' clubs of Ibadan and Enugu, and South Africa's Union Artists with its music and drama school and its machinery to run an equity for musicians are the kind of test I mean. Soon Kenya is to follow, and so far the success in each area has been tremendous. Until such foundations have been established, a Pan-African policy will only reduce culture to conference papers. Nor is the author unaware of this danger, because he says, "nothing could be more disastrous for Africa than that a false general attempt should be made [to promote Pan-Africanism]." This does not, of course, argue against the necessity for a Pan-African organization to tackle other problems.

Mr. Abraham has clearly posed the dilemma of the African intellectual: his dual loyalty — to the nationalist cause and to the fellowship of intellectuals the world over. One thing is evident, and the author implicitly warns the outside world about it: no one should demand of the African intellectual that he join in the quarrels, the preoccupations and concerns of the Western world simply because he is an intellectual. For these concerns arise from common reflexes that are based on Western culture, and the African does not share them. A thesis on the African intellectual is yet to be written.

Langston Hughes oversimplifies when he says in a foreword to his anthology, *Poems from Black Africa*: "The best of the black poets writing today in English or French in Africa south of the Sahara are not so much propagandists for African nationalism, as they are spokesmen for variations of *négritude* — a word the French-speaking writers have coined to express a pride in and a love of the African heritage, physically, spiritually and culturally." A good deal of the poetry inspired by *négritude* is thoroughly dull and rhetorical. If by variations of *négritude* Mr. Hughes simply means the African experience, it is hardly worth mentioning that out of it the African creates much more meaningful poetry than what he might write out of an experience he does not share. But the members of the *négritude* school, which is French-speaking, go further and argue that their physical, spiritual and cultural pride is a protest against colonialism and that there is such a thing as *un style négro-africain;* that they write to a program.

The English-speaking poet is much more self-confident. Thus, when Gabriel Okara, one of the best Nigerian poets, protests:

In your ears my song
is motor car misfiring
stopping with a choking cough;
and you laughed and laughed
and laughed,

he slides into flabby rhetoric. Not so when, without striking an attitude, he abandons himself to the clash and fusion of piano and drum music,

And I, lost in the morning mist
of an age at a riverside, keep
wandering in the mystic rhythm
of jungle drums and the concerto.

John Pepper Clark, another of Nigeria's best poets, is not the less powerful because he writes about a dancer instead of railing against his colonial past:

Tremulous beats wake trenchant
In a heart a descant
Tingling quick to her finger tips
And toes virginal habits long
Too atrophied for pen or tongue.

On the other hand, one cannot help asking oneself what Bloke Modisane's concentrated blackness has to do with the mixture of sorrow, and happiness, hatred and joy, and so on. Yet when he describes his loneliness, one can hear it scream, and the message is direct. A. C. Jordan asserts his human dignity and not his Negro-ness when he tells the white man that he might as well

tell the mother hen
Who sits on her brood
Not to peck at the mongrel
That sniffs at her young,

as ask a black man to submit humbly to dispossession.

The Ghanaian poets that move one most in this collection are Andrew Amankwa Opoku (with his epic of a river) and Kwesi Brew ("Ancestral Faces"). The latter poem is moving not simply because of its intrinsic *négritude* theme. Its experience and

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idiom are compact, its visual effects vivid. While the black man of the present age dances, the ancestors

. . . gazed and
Sweeping like white locusts
through the forests
Saw the same men, slightly
wizened,
Shuffle their sandalled feet to the
same rhythms.
They heard the same words of
wisdom uttered
Between puffs of pale blue smoke
They saw us and said:
They have not changed!

The French-speaking poets have sucked the ancestor theme dry, but they have never been able to communicate it with such economy of language and with such visual effect.

It is not that the poetry inspired by *négritude* must necessarily let us down. There is much of this —"black pride," the pulsating of the "dark blood," fingers bleeding on the Khalam instrument, naked feet, sword-blade breasts, wives supple as palm trees, the vultures of white civilization — that can weave exciting myths around us. But what are we to say when poets are forever amazed to discover that Africa also has beautiful women, when they see Harlem as a projection of Africa, when Francis Ernest Kobina Parkes of Ghana still moans in a free country that he cannot control his own waking and dreaming and therefore cannot make his "voice heard in the wrangling for mankind's soul"? What are we to say of Parkes when he imagines that in "the new dawn"

The mighty are no more
Cassocks are no more
Sceptres no more?

This view of Africa fails to observe corrupt black men in cassocks, oppression and assassination of blacks by blacks (instigated by white imperialists, maybe?), black vengeance, black violence. It presents only half the story of Africa, often a romanticized image of a continent that is still innocent, pure, cheerful, and misses the nuances of a continent in the process of being unbound. It pretends that blackness is the only passport a Negro requires to be accepted among Negroes; it pretends that the only agony Africa will ever have known is that of being colonized and bound, and refuses to recognize the agony of change, of living with freedom, which still lies ahead.

However, barring such light pieces as Peter Abraham's prose and one or two flat translations of oral poetry, Langston Hughes has put together a most interesting collection, and must be commended for his service to African literature.

The New Wayfarers

THE GROUP. By Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace & World. 378 pp. $5.95.

Robert Kiely

What Chaucer did for the fourteenth-century English pilgrim, Mary McCarthy has done for the Vassar girl of 1933. The section of society Miss McCarthy has chosen to cut through obviously limits her field, but one of the virtues of *The Group* is that it is an unassuming and economically constructed novel which displays a brilliance for the particular, rather than symbolic, bombast for the universal. And this without a trace of apology or pretense from the author. It is never a fatuous book. Even when it succeeds in reaching beyond its own narrative boundaries of time and place, it remains essentially what Miss McCarthy apparently wanted it to be: a period piece.

The wayfarers in *The Group* are eight recent Vassar graduates seeking, in the United States of the thirties, shrines worthy of their worship. There are the common and timeless choices like sex, a "suitable" marriage and money; but there are also possibilities more peculiar, or seemingly peculiar, to the time about which Miss McCarthy is writing: the New Deal, breast-feeding, psychoanalysis, Bolshevism, the theatre as social criticism, and Europe as a place Americans still went to escape America.

Two of the girls — and these are the two Miss McCarthy really cares about — pursue love with that combination of stubbornness, faith and lunacy which often distinguishes the truly committed from those who have just gone along for the ride. In everything save their hope in the reality

Robert Kiely is an instructor in English at Harvard and assistant senior tutor at Leverett House. He was a contributor to the recent issue of Daedalus *devoted to the contemporary novel.*

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of human love, Miss McCarthy has made these two characters different, even opposite, from each other. Fair-haired Polly Andrews is from a rich, old family in financial decline. Economic reverses have helped make her a benevolent realist, a person of extraordinary common sense who sees and accepts people for what they are. She serves as a reassuring center of sanity and goodness in a book that otherwise would have been decidedly pessimistic. Her faith in love is rewarded by what appears to be the one happy marriage of the group — to the one whole and mentally healthy male in the novel.

Kay Strong, on the other hand, is a dark beauty from the West whose father is a hard-working, but not socially prominent, doctor. She is a romantic dreamer who lives in a world which she creates, like her elaborate recipes, out of the exotic and insubstantial. She marries a young playwright whom she considers a genius in spite of his repeated failure to say or write anything of interest. And it is her inability to see him as the fool, coward and sadist he is that finally destroys her. In Harald Petersen, Mary McCarthy has invented one of the most loathsome characters in recent fiction, but what is much more interesting is the way her own hatred of him is so evident. No authorial voice is heard in direct reproof, yet every page involving him blisters with a fury which is startling and refreshing in this age of the detached viewer and the ambiguous villain.

Men generally don't fare very well in *The Group*. The amiable ones, like Polly's father and Gus LeRoy, a book publisher, tend to be eccentric or weak-minded; and the rest, whether descended from Nathaniel Hawthorne or a Viking warrior, seem to spend most of their time raging around New York trying to rip the society veneer and tailored clothing off Vassar graduates. The girls all have a fairly hard time trying to correlate sex and love, but given the varieties of male hostility, impotence and indifference with which Miss McCarthy confronts them, that is not hard to understand.

Though the more serious and deeply realized sections of the novel deal with Kay and Polly, it would be inaccurate to call them the main characters. The group itself is the main character and its eight parts are continually being threaded and rethreaded into one another. It is even amusing to think of the group as one body, with cool Elinor Eastlake as the head, Polly and Kay as two halves of the heart, plump "Pokey" Plothero as the stomach, and the gross Norine Schmittlapp taking up the rear. Just as it is not possible to regard all parts of the body with equal seriousness, Miss McCarthy cannot regard all the members of the group with the depth of feeling she extends to the narratives of Polly and Kay. Priss Hartshorn, agonizing over the dilemma of breast-versus-bottle feeding, "Pokey" Plothero, commuting by private plane to Cornell in order to become a veterinarian, and Norine Schmittlapp, switching her "passion" from politics to comparative religion "after Munich," are buffoons, crazy Dickensian caricatures who provide Miss McCarthy's satiric powers with ample exercise.

Partly because of the nature of her subject and partly because of her virtuosity as a writer, Miss McCarthy has chosen a variety of tones to define her characters. Though the narration is in the third person — each girl does not tell her own story — there is a voice heard through every section that echoes the person being described. When, at the beginning of Chapter Eight, for example, we are told that "Libby MacAusland had a spiffy apartment in the Village," we know that "spiffy" is the word Libby would use; from the outset we are getting to know her habits of mind through a kind of osmotic linguistic process. This technique is especially successful in the many comic and

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Into the Interior

Mountain, mountain, mountain,
marking time. Each
nameless, wall beyond wall, wavering
redefinition of
horizon.

And through the months. The arrivals
at dusk in towns one must leave at daybreak

— were they
taken to heart, to be seen
always again,
or let go, those faces,

a door half-open, moss
by matchlight on an inscribed stone?

And by day
through the hours that
rustle about one dryly,
tall grass of the savannah

up to the eyes.
No alternative to the
one-man path.

Denise Levertov

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satiric parts of the book, where we can hear the ring of old money or provincial snobbery or garbled Freudianism mimicked by the voice of the supposedly objective narrator. But what is gained in quick tonal variation is lost in dramatic intensity. There is a lack of emotional momentum in *The Group* which prevents the tragic conclusion from having real force. Possibly sensing this, Miss McCarthy has contrived a series of ingenious surprises and reversals in her final chapters which are not worthy of what has gone before.

As a whole, *The Group* is a witty, moving, instructive and wise novel — a gem of American social history as well as very good fiction. One can already hear the present generation of graduates from the better women's colleges declaring emphatically that they are *not* like the characters in this book. And since the New Frontier has replaced the New Deal, Jung become more fashionable than Freud, and everything is "suave" rather than "spiffy," they will, of course, be perfectly right.

A Kind of Revolt

A PRECOCIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Translated by Andrew R. MacAndrew. E. P. Dutton & Co. 124 pp. $3.50.

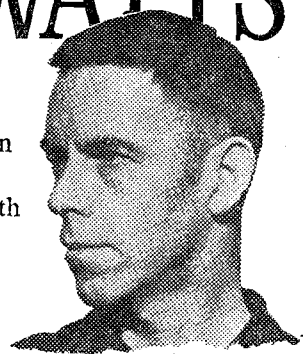
Hayden Carruth

There is not much real autobiography in this book. Evidently the work was begun as an introduction to translations of Yevtushenko's poems, an attempt to tell Western readers something about the circumstances in which they had been written. But the poet found he needed more space than an introduction would allow. What he has here is an essay which, though still rather short, constitutes a full self-defense and, at the same time, a plea for his country. Of necessity the essay is stitched to the main events of the poet's life, but these are never accented. In fact, Yevtushenko appears altogether a more modest and less flamboyant fellow than we had been led to believe by the publicity given him during the past two or three years.

Solely on the basis of internal evidence, I suspect the English title was not Yevtushenko's responsibility. Beyond that, I am 90 per cent convinced that the essay is naive. If, as I think, the only adequate definition of rebellion and revolution in our time has been given by Camus, then Yevtushenko, like other Marxist writers, is tediously old-fashioned. He quite unashamedly uses such terms as "ideology," the "heroic struggle for the future," the "religion of the revolution." He again and again affirms his devotion to the concepts of 1919. His enemies — Stalin and the toadies and time servers of the Stalinist bureaucracy — are castigated only for their suppression of the revolutionary ideal; that is to say, for their

Hayden Carruth's most recent collections of poetry are The Norfolk Poems *(Prairie Press) and* Journey to a Known Place *(New Directions).*

ALAN WATTS



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falling away from Leninism. Lenin himself is absolutely unquestioned; Marx and Engels stand silently and patriarchally in the background; Trotsky is still referred to in orthodox terms as an "opportunist."

In other words, Yevtushenko appears to be an unquestioning Communist who simply wants a return to the austerity, purity and fervor of 1919. In 1963 he still sees nothing of the implacable catastrophe lurking in the revolution. "A Communist," he says, "is a man who puts the people's interests above his own, but who, at the same time, would never wantonly squander human lives in the name of those interests." For me, at least, the inference is inescapable that the expenditure of human lives is perfectly all right so long as it isn't wanton.

I do not believe for a moment that if Yevtushenko somehow were to find himself in a position of authority in Russia, he would become another Stalin. Yet there is nothing in his autobiography to rule out this possibility. Should we have expected more from his essay? No, of course not; Yevtushenko is a poet, not a political scientist. He was born and educated in a society which prohibited free inquiry, and his schooling, according to his account, was sketchy. But one can't help being depressed by the renewed evidence of failure to understand. History repeats itself — what could be more dismal? The new wave of revolutionaries is like all the old, acclaiming the chaste past, exalting the triumphant future, suffering the present like a wound.

But even though Yevtushenko's essay seems a very pat specimen of that peculiar form of Marxist literature in which one praises one's own revolutionary piety while condemning the deviations of one's enemies, it still is a far more charming, even more eloquent, piece than most of the genre. Interesting and important, too — one can't deny that in the present context of world affairs. Ultimately, Yevtushenko's reputation will rest on his poems, which is as it should be; but for the present, his largest audience will be for his autobiography, at least in Western Europe and America. This is the bitterest anti-Stalinist polemic out of the USSR we have been permitted to see, and we find it, like everything about Russian politics, fascinating.

Finally, there is my 10 per cent doubt. Actually, the chance that this essay is a calculated exercise in hidden meaning, in which the author has buried an outright and sophisticated condemnation underneath a naive and "constructive" criticism, is a good deal less than one in ten. But consider this: the term "dialectical materialism" is used only once and then is scornfully coupled with the grossest kind of anti-Semitism; on the other hand, the words "spirit" and "spiritual" appear often, and there are a number of covert Biblical references. In any case, Yevtushenko's control sometimes slips; he veers toward outright condemnation of the Soviet system, then quickly covers his steps with a new avowal of revolutionary zeal or an anti-bourgeois platitude.

Recently, because of this book as well as his other writing and speaking, Yevtushenko has been in hot water at home. One can only, with a whole heart, wish him all good luck.

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LETTER from PAGAN

Donald Richie

Like Ankhor, Pagan is an ancient and desolate city; unlike Ankhor, however, it has never been forgotten—it is just not clearly remembered. Eight miles long, four miles deep, it lies on the arid plain stretched along the Irrawaddy in middle Burma. It is difficult of access, has never had any celebrated travelers, and has not once been called one of the wonders of the ancient world.

And yet it is—for this area of thirty-two square miles, this once great sacred city, holds nearly a thousand of the most tremendous pagodas, stretching one behind the other to the horizon, each hundreds of feet high, sitting like gigantic chessmen on a board, like blades of grass in a lawn.

It is a stupefying sight—it is a thousand Cheops' pyramids, it is Yucatan stripped of jungle and grown tenfold, it is all the *wats* of Cambodia heaped together. As beautiful as Chartres, as fantastic as Mont St. Michel, each pagoda climbs against the sky, adding to this fantastic congress of buildings, this architectural marvel, this nearly unbelievable vision of the ancient world.

Here in dimly remembered Pagan, Buddhism first entered the Far East, in the ninth century, shortly after the first of these temple-towers was built. Twenty-one kings reigned in this sacred city until it was destroyed in the thirteenth century by Kublai Khan. Marco Polo was in Cathay then and remembers the expedition but did not know where it went. The power of Pagan, a capital of those states now Burma, was broken, but the place remained—one could no more destroy these massive towers than one could the pyramids.

The few archaeologists who have visited the city have discovered in the temple-towers a fantastic legacy from India; for these enormous remains, strewn along the riverside, constitute a history of Buddhist architecture. Some of the pagodas are bell-shaped,

Donald Richie, novelist and film critic, is now in Germany, having presented the Yasujiro Ozu Retrospective at the XIII Berlin Film Festival.

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like those in Ceylon, raised on enormous bases above the ground; others, like those in Benares and Mirzapoor, are the bluff-knobbed, terraced wedding cakes of medieval India; while others are the pumpkin-like towers still being erected in Thailand and Cambodia.

Here was the Buddha's first home in this part of the world, but here — as always — he kept lodgings with the indigenous gods, the *nats* and *bilus*, spirits and demons, wholly animistic, local to Southeast Asia. As Shinto and Buddhism go side by side in Japan, sharing attributes, sharing the pious, so here, the white-faced, gold-eyed *nats* guard the octagonal center cell which contains the Buddha, while the tusked or fanged *bilus* preside benignly over corridors of marvelous, fading but still preserved, frescoes, scenes from the life of Buddha, filled with hunting, dancing, torture, singing, death and love-making.

Each of these tremendous pagodas consists of two lofty and concentric corridors, interspersed with passages leading to the hard center of the building, that enormous cell in which stands the Buddha. Above will be another terrace, more corridors, more passages, each terrace growing smaller until finally the tower is reached. Both outside and in are the stairways, straight up like stone ladders, the plastered roofs folded like long linen canopies, or coiled, spiral staircases, looking Romanesque but of the purest white lime-plaster. And each corridor, each staircase, is punctuated with high, wide windows, tunneling through yards of masonry, to let in light and air.

It is this that gives the temples of Pagan their peace. In Yucatan, in the pyramids, one believes in death, it is arranged that you should. And the crushing darkness inside Cheops, hundreds of yards of stone pressing against you, quite cunningly suggests what death itself must be. But in the towers of Pagan, even at the center, light enters, milky, pure, carried as though by aqueduct, horizontal light reflected by a score of white cemented walls. No matter how hot the day, these towers are cool at the heart, for the openings catch the breeze, as do the wind towers of Ispahan.

The city, though desolate, is not deserted. There are villages among the towers and many brown-skinned, orange-robed priests with shaved heads and bare feet. Busloads of them come to the main temples, newly plastered a blinding white: the great Ananda with its flowered terraces, Mahabodhi with its golden spire burning in the sun, Lawkahtipan or Shwesandaw, inhabited by schools of monks, children, goats and the great, grave Burmese cats.

They look and act like local tourists, but a better word would be pilgrims because before the squatting and the talking and the sucking of sections of sweet sugar cane, all take flowers or lighted resin candles to the

Villanelle of the Sinister Committee

The sinister committee has already made up its mind.
It didn't need these witnesses and files.
It's sure to find the proof it hoped to find

of nimble enemies, clever and unkind,
spying disguised in lyingly innocent smiles.
The sinister committee has already made up its mind

that evil documents were sealed and signed,
that there are photographs and coded wiles.
It's sure to find the proof it hoped to find.

Though few informed, though others have declined
to testify, and so are kept in jails,
the sinister committee has already made up its mind.

As Inquisitions easily divined
and tortured dissenters in various interesting styles,
it's sure to find the proof it hoped to find.

It's difficult for this committee not to remind
some critics — like a history — of such trials.
The sinister committee has already made up its mind.
It's sure to find the proof it hoped to find.

Harold Witt

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heart of the temple they have chosen. Here stands the Buddha in one of his many incarnations, covered with gold leaf, often a circlet of local rubies around his head. The statue is tremendous, fifty, one hundred feet high, his feet lost in golden gloom and smoke, but his face gently illuminated from the sky.

Nothing changes in Pagan. The favored temples get new gold leaf from the faithful and the ruined—like the marvelous Hitlominlo, a brick-red pile set in red clay, a tremendous ruined fruitcake of a tower, old Babylon itself, crammed with cool and dusty and deserted cells, its frescoes hanging in ribbons from the ceilings and stirring in the faint breeze—remain as they have for centuries.

A few things change. At the Bu Pagoda, the oldest in Pagan, and rising half out of the river itself, I looked up and saw a yellow-robed priest who seemed to be fishing; I could see the rod very plainly. After I had climbed up, however, I saw that he had his ear bent to a transistor radio.

A transistor at Ise, or in Knossos, there it might jar the romantic, but not in Pagan. Size makes style and the diversity within this forest of pagodas is quite reconciled to sheer mass. This amazing sight, this forest of a city, seemingly diverse, is completely unified by its very size, by its very purpose. To one who goes there today it speaks as clearly as it did a thousand years ago.

Pagan is still difficult but no longer impossible to reach. Every Sunday there is a flight on Union of Burma Airways leaving at 6 A.M. which gets to Nyaong-U, the airport near Pagan, an hour and a half later. It would be wise to hire one of the jeeps at the airport for the tour. The return flight leaves at 2 P.M., or one may stay overnight at the guest house (built in honor of the visit of the Prince of Wales) and go to Mandalay the next day, returning from there to Rangoon. Visas to Burma are difficult to obtain, but all tourists may have a seventy-two-hour transit permit. If Sunday falls within that time you may go to Pagan.

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(*Continued from page 160*)

that our labor force and our productive potential are growing so fast that we have to run just to stand still. Our total output rose something like $30 billion from the second quarter of last year to the second quarter of this year; yet our unemployment rate went up from 5.5 to 5.8 per cent. We're going to have to pick up speed somehow and it can be argued that government has got to embark on some kind of spending program even if we get the proposed Administration tax cut and it spurs the economy as predicted.

The foreign aid program hasn't borne the expected fruit and, unfortunately, it is lagging more and more as an economic device. Military expenditures, which are such a substantial prop to our present shaky position, are a drag on the economy in the long run. There is no social advantage in pouring billions into overkill as we are doing at the present time. We do know that where racial restrictions have weakened and Negroes have put a foot in the economic door, business has stepped up through an enlargement of buying power in the particular community. We have Heller's informed estimate that merely raising the Negro's income to that of the national level would increase the gross national product by more than $14 billion, a 2.5 per cent rise. If the rise in Negro income were accompanied by an overall increase in national income through the stimulation attendant on satisfaction of consumer needs, we could reasonably forecast a very substantial growth in gross national product, to the consequent advantage of all Americans.

It is well to realize here that government expenditures on a program to benefit Negroes would have to be substantial and would have to partake of what Young calls a "crash" nature in order to produce maximum results. No pinch-penny governmental spending program can make a dent on unemployment, no matter what its object, and the stakes are too high in this case to warrant half-way measures. The question of "how much" would have to be answered by an economist with both eyes open to the desired economic *and* social yield. Deep-running trends of the kind now operative that widen the gap between the majority of Negroes and other Americans can't be reversed without heavy initial outlays of money and effort. Racial unrest is too explosive to permit delay.

Even if the case for overwhelming national economic benefits be discounted to a degree, the stern fact is that the nation must launch a massive drive — call it whatever you will—to close the social, political and economic racial gap that now exists. The national welfare is in jeopardy, weighted down as it is with 10 per cent of the population socially and economically handicapped, too often dependent on public assistance, poorly educated and unable to assume the normal responsibilities of good citizenship. Unless we reverse current trends, we shall soon have a hard-core group lying permanently outside our social order, preyed upon by, and in turn preying upon, our economic and social institutions. The cost may come high, but the choice should not be difficult.

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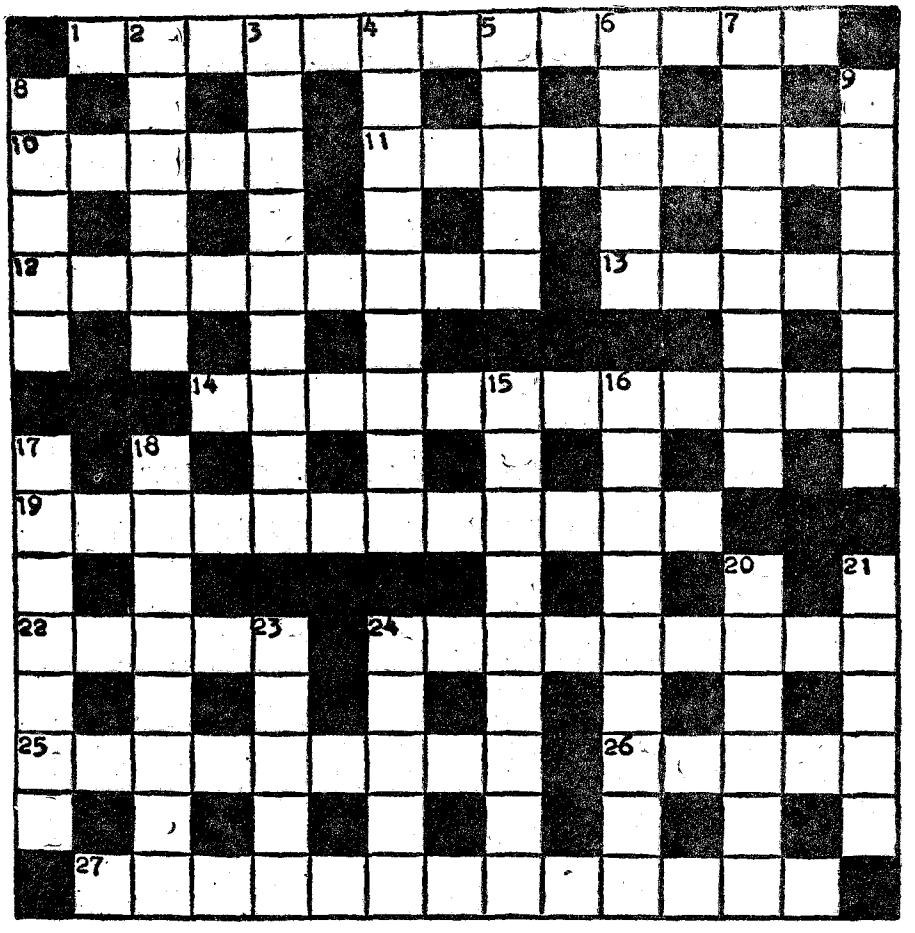
Crossword Puzzle No. 1024

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Where some people fight implies they live nearby. (5, 8)
10 At least one bit of information suggests what some boys like to do with pretty girls! (5)
11 Vox humana, for example, shouldn't come from the bottom of the heart! (5, 4)
12 Bore, perhaps, to speak long and loud inside. (9)
13 What some demonstrators did with the material? (5)
14 Guides unions in trouble, though lacking in sincerity. (12)
19 Bill might display it in almost any religious sect. (12)
24 Being incumbent on the make-up of both a bovine and a hog. (9)
25 The cop might to the robber, as the son might to the father. (4, 5)
26 How beer might be bought is descriptive of the race. (5)
27 Thin gentlemen, but responsible for the imparting of knowledge.

DOWN:

2 The French have such capacity for wines and the like! (6)
3 Is the discussion at one more sober than it used to be? (9)
4 and 22 They certainly set off a man's speech! (9, 5)
5 Fish point of view? (5)
6 Soldiers used to live under strained conditions, by the sound of it. (5)
7 Sometimes displayed by the top of the train, too. (8)
8 Able to be easily taped. (5)
9 Main title associated with buccaneers? (7)
15 Richard tried to cry early in the automotive age. (3, 1, 5)
16 A word introduced in the process of loosing me? (9)
17 Is it the up-and-coming fashion to tie in knots a descendant of Esau? (7)
18 Ideally promises in their description to be like a wild mustang. (8)
20 Pretty, but not as valuable as gold or zinc. (6)
21 One who acts like a common man? (5)
23 Proving I got paddled before by the teacher! (5)
24 Possibly started out with a lot of dough. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1023

ACROSS: 1 Blood vessel; 9 and 16 Brandishes; 11 Vain; 12 Punjabi; 13 Density; 15 Bachelor; 18 Closes; 21, 14 and 10 Skull and crossbones; 24 Pastime; 26 Sopwith; 28 Chow; 29 Houri; 31 Frowardness. DOWN: 2 Longjohns; 4 Vane; 5 Suspend; 6 Eaves; 7 Trauma; 8 and 30 Little Rock; 17 Silkworms; 19 Loathe; 20 Somehow; 22 Utopian; 23 Notice; 25 and 3 Tower of Babel; 27 Purr.

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